



Master's Thesis

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Human and Urban Geography and Spatial Planning

EVERYDAY SPATIAL PRACTICES IN EASTLEIGH, NAIROBI: A CASE STUDY OF MICRO-SEGREGATION AND GENTRIFICATION

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<p>Abstract</p> <p>This thesis explores the everyday spatial practices in the gentrified and micro-segregated Eastleigh, Nairobi. Gentrification is one of the most important aspects of urban studies, as well as social geography contributing to significant socioeconomic changes in many metropolitan cities in the world. Although the emerging empirical studies indicate socioeconomic impacts of gentrification, less research has been conducted to examine social and economic interaction in gentrified spaces in the Global South. Additionally, there are limited studies on how cultural diversity influences gentrification. In the case of a diversified neighbourhood, such as Eastleigh, assessing the effects of culture on gentrification is significant. Therefore, this study aimed to see by observing and interviewing residents, whether the developments in Eastleigh can be analysed and interpreted through the theoretical framework of gentrification and micro segregation.</p> <p>The study used descriptive research to build on literature and graphics to collect data on gentrification indicators and socioeconomic interactions. The qualitative part of the study entailed observation, questionnaire survey, and key Informant interviews, while quantitative analysis was based on the graphical presentation of data. The outcomes of the study strongly suggest that an increase in the housing variables, the influx of wealthy population, increased employment, and shift in consumption trends are the significant indicators of ongoing gentrification in Eastleigh. The empirical studies indicate that social interactions in gentrified spaces appear to be marginalized due to cultural differences that have a strong impact on social and economic agents. The review made similar observations regarding social interactions between the new-comers and the long-time residents.</p> <p>The results of the study also found out that the reason for social and economic inequalities among the residents and the gentrifies was cultural differences which hindered access to social and economic services. However, since this study is one of the initial studies on gentrification in Eastleigh, Nairobi, more and in-depth studies are recommended.</p>		
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1 INTRODUCTION

Amidst the urban social dynamics debates, gentrification has become a challenge worth a global concern. The rapid influx of middle-class population transforms traditionally working class neighbourhoods into middle-class residential or commercial places (Lees et al., 2008). The changes they bring in the housing, health, and economic structures affect a community's history and culture, shifting the locality's characteristics, as new stores and resources come up in places that have been previously neglected (Nesbitt, 2005). These changes reduce the residential and low retail space that is affordable to low-income residents (Kasman, 2015), sometimes forcing them to relocate. It also brings about the question of authenticity, the right to spaces, negotiation of areas, and social tensions that lead to strained interpersonal relations. This has necessitated the study of everyday practices of the gentrified poor people, investigating how they negotiate these micro-segregated spaces.

De Certeau (1984), in his elaboration of everyday life practices, states that people are consumers who use tactics and strategies to navigate, appropriate, and poach in the face of the systems of power. Practice, sometimes referred to as habit, can academically be a descriptive term referring to things people do, without real attention to its theoretical or abstract implications, and therefore not applied as an analytical concept (Pink, 2012). But according to (Schatzki et al., 2001), practice is a set of human actions which can be associated with each other in some way, and that can form a category to be used for sociological analysis. Practice occurs in everyday life in different places.

Pink (2012) states that Everyday life is where we and our worlds make or influence each other towards a sustainable future, employing human creativity, innovation, and change.

In addition, Certeau's (1984) argued that everyday life happens when poaching on the territory

of others, using existing rules and products, in a way that is influenced but only partly determined by the current regulations and products. In micro-segregated spaces of gentrified areas, these processes are generally conventional. The idea of understanding the role of everyday spatial practices of negotiating spaces in the development happening in Nairobi is essential to this research. With Eastleigh, as the specific case study, this study is geared towards understanding how supposed gentrification and segregation fits to describe the development in this area. Eastleigh is among the fastest growing estates in Nairobi in terms of socioeconomic development hence the choice as a case study area.

This study aims to investigate, whether the spatial changes in Eastleigh can be interpreted through and attributed to the conceptual framework of gentrification and to map out and analyse everyday spatial practices of gentrifiers and how they contribute to social and economic changes in Eastleigh. Issues such as how they go about their housing, education, differences in socioeconomic status and class, leisure, religion, social interactions and political practices matter in this context. This research examines the socioeconomic developments as well as challenges of perceived micro-segregation accompanied by these developments in Eastleigh as a supposed gentrified area. The findings from this research adds to the scientific knowledge on ongoing gentrification in African cities, through the concept of everyday practice, spacing, and habits of the gentrified people. For example, since Kenya is recognized by United Nations Habitat as one of the most rapidly urbanizing countries in the region, studying its cities enhance our understanding of how everyday practices influence growth and development of various towns in Africa. In that regard, it is therefore necessary to first look at probable gentrification in Nairobi as it is among the fast-growing African cities, with Eastleigh being a contributing area to its growth.

As a capital city, Nairobi is also the largest city in the country by population size. According to Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, the population growth rate is estimated to be between 3.5 percent and 4 percent annually. For example, the population has grown from 3138369 as of census 2009 to 4734881 as of census 2019. The current population density is approximately 4,850 residents per square Kilometer. Nairobi comprises many local ethnic groups such as Luo, Kamba, Maasai, Kikuyu, which make about 20 percent of the population (Owuor, 2019). Many residents live in the city because of the available business, job, education, and other opportunities (KNBS, 2019).



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Figure 1 above shows the map of Kenya, Nairobi county, and Kamukunji constituency where Eastleigh is located. Empirical study of gentrification in Nairobi and its neighbourhoods is limited. However, there are reports such as the standard media report (“Gentrification: coming to your neighbourhood”, 2018); It provides insights about thriving and shifting blocks within and around Nairobi. The report noted that more than half of neighbourhoods emerged between the 1960s and 1970s, and that more than half of the houses built are run down. The report further states that estates in Eastland are potential hotspots for gentrification. Developers are eyeing areas around Juja road, Jogoo road, Outer ring, Moi Airbase, and Mathare slums. These areas influence Eastleigh politically, socioeconomically, and culturally.

Additionally, according to the report, the rise of Konza city located in Machakos County and the likes in Nairobi and its neighbourhoods are an indication of rapid economic growth and development. According to Johari (2015), Konza technology city is among the Kenya Vision 2030 projects initiated by the government in 2008 in Machakos County, which neighbors Nairobi. The project is expected to create employment opportunities, relieve Nairobi from some of its traffic and population and contribute to the growth of Gross Domestic Product by 10 percent annually (Johari, 2015). This, in my view, might affect migration in and out of Eastleigh as some correspondents migrate in search of better income opportunities.

According to Kahura, Kahura & Baraka (2018), there are numerous shifting neighbourhoods in Eastland’s. Buruburu was among the esteemed areas back in the 1970s built in phases with the last phase completed in 1982. The area housed many fresh graduates from architects, accountants, surveyors, among others who were captured by the attractiveness and lifestyle in the area. The report further indicated that Buruburu was considered a decent,

respectable, habitable and a posh estate in the early 1990s, and therefore it attracted people with high incomes.

Kilimani and Kileleshwa also housed middle class residents and were often termed as “lonely jungles.” Many civil servants preferred Kilimani estate because it housed semi-detached bungalows, maisonettes, and other attractive house designs between 1963 to early 2000s. According to the Institute of Economic Affairs as at 2015, those earning 76392 to 102429 Kenyan shillings per month (approximately 705 to 945 United States Dollars at current rates) were in the middle class. These are high income earners in the Kenyan context. They are also highly concentrated within the service-based industries.

Kahura, Kahura & Baraka (2018) further explain that gentrification of city neighbourhoods is gradually “robbing the city” of its iconic suburbs from where people obtain fresh and cheap vegetables and other foods. For example, the Kilimani Residents Association has expressed concerns on how the rapid gentrification is slowly taking away the traditional beauty of gentrifying neighbourhoods. With the advent of a business-hungry mind-set by many Nairobi residents, newly built shopping malls have turned the neighbourhood into a bustling cosmopolitan area. The Westside once held neglected slums of Kawangware, and Kangemi. Today, these areas boast of Banking halls of leading financial institutions, commercial houses, and big businesses not forgetting the booming construction of new residential dwellings. Eastleigh exhibits similar characteristics and is considered as one of the fastest growing suburbs in the city. With growth, comes changes in the cost of housing and infrastructure.

According to the Hass Consult Limited (HCL) quarter four reports (2019), house prices in Eastleigh increased close to three times. The house prices in satellite towns dropped by 0.5 percent since the first drop in 2008, indicating that buyers are experiencing economic challenges. The

overall cost for all properties increased by 1.2 percent over the quarter. Also, property value has increased by 4.40 times from 2000 to 2019 on average, property values rose from 7.1 million December 2000 to 31.6 million December 2019. The cost of a 1-3-bedroom property currently stands at 14.4 million, and 4-6 bedroom stands at 40.6 million (HCL, 2019, Fourth Quarter).

1.1.1 Perceived Gentrification in Eastleigh

Eastleigh is a suburb located on the east side of Nairobi Central Business District, Kamukunji Sub-county. The estate was formerly known as Nairobi East Township. The largest ethnic group is of Somali origin and the residents have even referred to it as a “Little Mogadishu.” It’s well known for its robust business sector. During the British rule, in the early 1950s, the colonial government allotted Nairobi suburbs in regard to race and ethnicity (Smith, 2017). Eastleigh was designated for residents of Asian origin and a few bourgeois Africans, and for over 20 years, was known as the most prominent Kenyan Asian Enclave. However, in the recent past, about 20 years, residents of Somali origin have become majority residents.

According to Abdulsamed (2011), the Kenyan Somali population increased in the late 1990’s due to people who came as colonial employees and also as a result of the emerging Somalian Civil War. Most of the Kenyan Somalis and Somalian immigrants are poor, however, there are also wealthy individuals who own businesses in Somali and also in Kenya. The Somali entrepreneurs have introduced a new business culture in Nairobi. For example, their clan-based insurance has enabled them to mitigate potential political and social challenges (Abdulsamed, 2011). The growth of business in Eastleigh has created more employment and business opportunities for Kenyans.

Abdulsamed (2011) also states that despite the steady economic growth in Eastleigh, residents experience challenges accessing public services and poor infrastructure. He further points

out that many Kenyans consider Eastleigh to be a center of illicit business. According to Life and Peace Institute and Centre for Christian-Muslim Relations in Eastleigh (LPI and CCMRE, 2016) There have been repetitive political and social injustices and the area has been marred by crime, violence, riots and police brutality thereby straining relations among residents, and this has necessitated peace talks. Despite this perception, Eastleigh has been a significant business and shopping block in Nairobi. There are several import and export businesses, retail joints, hotels, shopping malls, hospitals, chemists, transport companies, money transfer agencies, banks and many others. The business areas attract clients and potential businesspeople from all over the country and further afield.

According to Smith (2017), Eastleigh owes so much of its success in business to the highly effective exploitation of shopping malls and complexes, which are some of the significant investments. Shopping malls house hundreds of retail outlets for prominent local and global brands run by individual retailers. The retail outlets deal with imported clothing and other household items from China, Turkey, and other places.

The businesses in the suburbs are likewise owned by the residents of Somali origin except for a few non-Somali residents. According to Ingiriis (2018), residents of Somali origin have heavily invested in Eastleigh, contributing to about \$1.5 billion. In 2012, for instance, Eastleigh accounted for approximately 25 percent of the tax revenue collected by the Nairobi City Council (Ingiriis, 2018). However, it does not specify the tax revenue by ethnic origin and affiliation. Study by Abdulsamed (2011) also concluded that Somali businesses in Kenya have created thriving enterprises in retail, finance, transport and import-export sectors despite the negative perception by the Kenyan Press and large proportion of Kenyans living in Eastleigh.

Gentrification in Nairobi cuts across many of the neighbourhood estates in the Eastlands and Westlands. Eastleigh is among the estates in the east of Nairobi perceived to be experiencing rapid and haphazard gentrification. According to this study, the rapid increase of the number of wealthier immigrants of Somali origin in Eastleigh, developments initiated by the national and county government among other factors has led to an expansion in business. It has seen the rise of new and relatively high-rise buildings that are slowly replacing the old buildings. There is increased demand for housing as well as cultural, economic, and social integration among other changes. The buildings are operated as both residential and commercial properties. Additionally, Eastleigh houses at least three two- and three-star hotels offering accommodation.



Figure 2. Eastleigh Map

Data Source: <http://www.opendata.go.ke/> and <https://data.humdata.org/dataset/kenyaelections>

Figure 2 above has been generated from OpenStreetMap and it shows Eastleigh and its surrounding. Neighboring estates such as Bahati, Hamza-Makadara, Makongeni, Mbotela, Jericho, and Uhuru are among the most targeted by private developers due to increasing demand for houses. The developers focus on old city council buildings to build new accommodation for residents. The new buildings do not match the existing ones in design, which are over 50 years old (Kahura, Kahura & Baraka, 2018). The old houses are single dwelling houses that can accommodate only a few families at a time and yet occupy prime real estate due to the proximity to Nairobi CBD in the face of demand for housing from a growing city population. Figure 3 shows a satellite image of Eastleigh and its neighbourhoods where residents carry out some of their everyday activities.

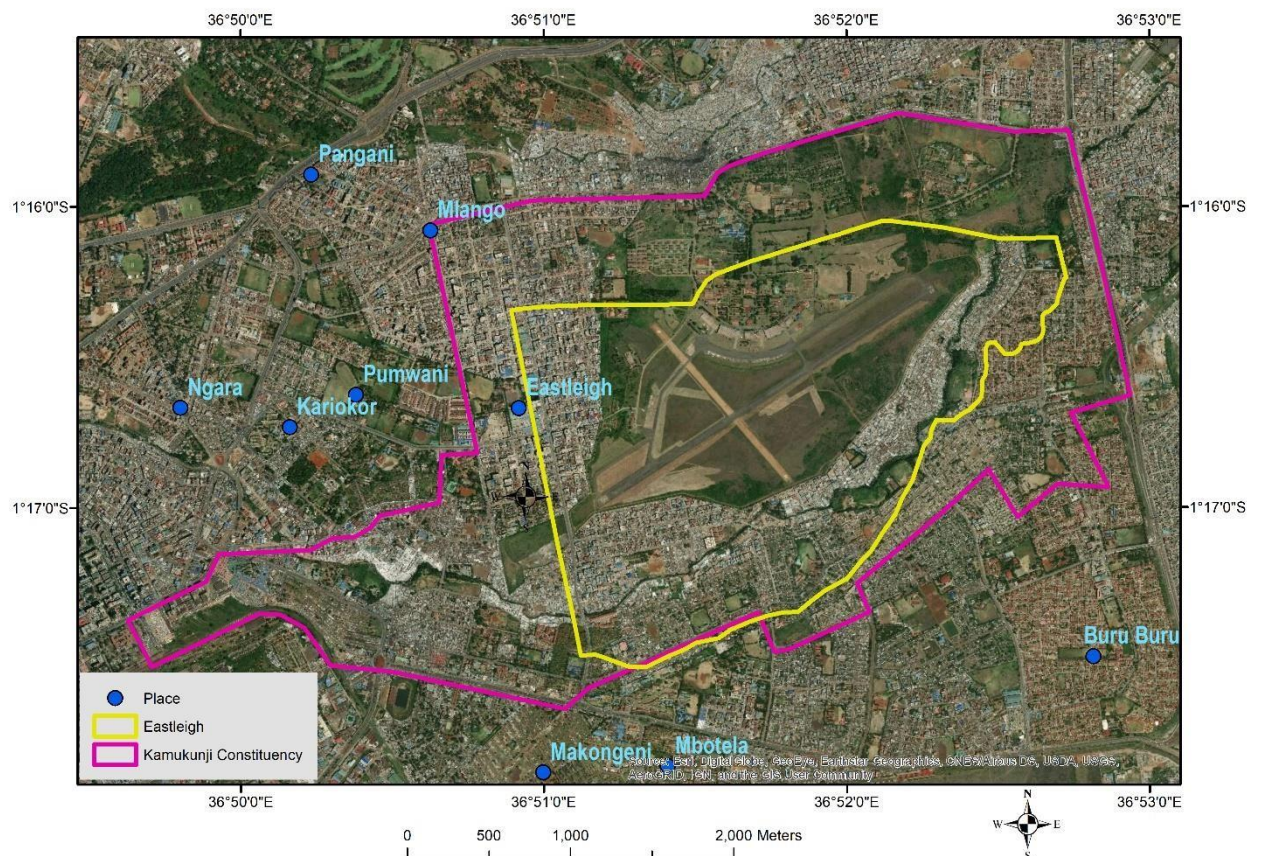


Figure 3. Kamukunji Constituency Satellite Image

Data Source: <http://www.opendata.go.ke/>

1.2 Aims of the Study

While hypothesizing that the developments in Eastleigh can be analysed and interpreted through the theoretical framework of gentrification and micro segregation, there is a need to bridge the gap between theoretical and empirical approaches to gentrification. Existing literature is on studies mostly focusing on Anglo-American cities (Davidson & Lees 2005, Davidson 2007, Hochstenbach et al. 2014), but very few on the effects of everyday practices on micro-level segregation in the global southern cities and Nairobi in particular. Due to this weakness, most of the literature used in this study will be on research done in Western cities, and the few African cities such as Lagos in Nigeria, and Johannesburg in South Africa, which are applicable to the Kenyan context.

According to the study by Hochstenbach (2014), the impacts of gentrification on daily practices are very systematic and widespread. The process is characterized by significant economic, social, and political changes that significantly influence the everyday engagements by the residents. The gentrification process did not only begin and cause significant changes in major cities such as New York but also took place in the neighbouring towns. For example, both big cities such as Cleveland and Glasgow and small cities such as Malmo and Grenada experienced economic, social, and political transitions that altered everyday practices such as business, etc. (Ilkucan & Sandikci, 2005). Chicago is an excellent example of how changes brought about by gentrification can positively and negatively affect new neighbourhoods. The low-income Latino population was priced out by huge taxes due to the new investments in the area that attracted high house rents. Nevertheless, the city is considered among the top ten cities in the USA housing world-class restaurants and festivals.

The knowledge and understanding of the gentrification indicators and economic and social interactions with gentrifiers in micro segregated and gentrified spaces is therefore of considerable significance to this paper.

1.3 Justification of the Study

Theoretical understanding of place and practice enables us to appreciate how human action is always situated concerning specific environmental, material, sensory, social, and discursive configurations (Pink, 2012). This research, therefore, is relevant as it will tackle habit, spacing, and negotiation of space, thereby showing how societies within the same space differ in everyday practices, and how the disadvantaged poor people in gentrified areas adapt to the changes. Since space and place are essential to participation as a political practice, our understanding of the spatiality of the involvement will influence our theoretical knowledge as well as lead to social and environmental change (Kesby et al, 2007).

The knowledge gained from the research might, therefore, be used in better planning of urban spaces, reducing the differences between the gentrifier and the gentrified, help the gentrified poor in adapting to the vulnerabilities, and making the society more cohesive. Much as the research will be done in Nairobi, the local usually is intimately connected to the global, national, and regional spaces, and can be used in policy transformation (Kesby et al, 2007), and therefore, this research will add to the wealth of existing literature on gentrification in Africa.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter covers the theoretical review of the study. It explains the concept of gentrification, the theories applied in the study and the different types of interactions that exist in gentrified areas.

2.1 Concept of Gentrification

Gentrification as a term has been a topic of debate in many spheres since it is a constant process in urban planning and utilization of space that jointly involves the state and private investors (Bernt, 2018). As the State comes up with gentrification-friendly policies and provides services and infrastructure that favor gentrification, private actors maximize on these foundations resulting in evictions, displacements, changes in the landscapes, and socio-spatial inequalities like the formation of different social classes, rise in closed spaces created for the wealthy and luxury services. Writers like John Joe Schlichtman, Jason Patch, and Marc Lamont Hill in their book “Gentrifier” published in 2017, consider the frequent use of the term gentrification is questionable and needs to be re-evaluated.

Moreover, they describe it as a process that involves migration, transformation, and reinvestment in space, bringing social, cultural, political, and economic change. As these changes occur, populations dynamics change, and patterns of interaction differ. They demonstrate the positive and negative sides of the phenomenon, as seen by different actors. Negatively, it can be seen to rob the low-income earners of their right to the place and the ease of affording resources. Positively, it leads to economic development since an area that has potential and is underexploited can be improved and revamped to give it a facelift or reinvented and become more economically yielding. Further on, they demonstrate that gentrification does not always lead to the displacement of people, nor that every gentrifier is a middle-class newcomer.

2.1.1 Production-Side Theory

According to Neil Smith gentrification is based on the association between production and money (Smith, & Williams, 2013). After the Second World War, capital movement into low income and low rent areas was favoured as opposed to reasonably developed towns (Lees et al., 2010). As a result, land and other production resources in the suburbs increased in value. For example, the opening of rail lines from suburbs to cities in Amsterdam led to the middle-class displacement of low-class residents who would not frequently use train services. The merit of production-side theory is that it does not rely on local concepts explaining global trends.

Neil Smith further argues that the middle-class individuals move to areas with poorly utilized resources to offer available jobs by building factories, retail businesses, schools, and religious institutions that have an immense impact on socio-economic activities (Lees et al., 2010). Gentrification in the suburbs or the low-income areas often leads to increased rents, taxes, and other economic-related expenses that may force the poor residents to relocate. Therefore, a city that wishes to forestall gentrification should come up with policies that make it easier for citizens and investors to build housing in areas where they will not necessarily have to commute for long distances.

2.1.2 The Rent-Gap Theory

The rent-gap theory describes the imbalance between current land prices and the price it gains when used productively (Smith, & Williams, 2013). Using the provisions of this theory, Smith argued that the size of the gap determined whether or not developers would opt to redevelop the inner city (Smith, & Williams, 2013). The theory also explains gentrification to the changes in inflow of financial capital and circles of investment that have the potential to generate more opportunities for economic rent.

A more massive rent gap would mean that the region requires economic restructuring. However, the profits from redevelopment close the rent gap causing a significant increase in rents, leases, and mortgages. According to Smith & Williams (2013), landowners, landlords, investors, and developers come in handy as far as gentrification is concerned. They are always dedicated to increasing profits, enhancing their properties, and looking for new investment ventures. The theory is founded on the element of space which creates an avenue for increasing profits hence gentrification.

2.1.3 Consumption-Side Theory

The consumption-side theory was developed by David Ley, to examine the characteristics of gentrifiers and what they consume as opposed to the market. The theory asserts that gentrifiers mainly perform advanced services, enjoy recreational activities, and demand amenities of a particular class that earlier residents may not afford (Lees et al., 2010). There is, therefore, a market consumption gap that is created by the different classes of services resulting from gentrification. From this theory, gentrification can be described as an alteration of preferences for space, spacious settlements, among others. The approach is, hence, significant not only in identifying gentrification indicators but also examining the economic and social negotiations in gentrified and micro segregated areas.

2.2 Social Interactions

Social interactions are the social practices of and ways in which gentrifiers and the gentrified act or react to each other. The outcomes of social interactions include social ties, social networks, social support, cooperation, among other social benefits. Additionally, social interactions in gentrified spaces appear to be marginalized because of the changes in business operations, lifestyle, movement, culture, among other aspects. Social ties in local neighbourhoods,

however, may be losing their significance because the majority, despite the effects of gentrification, are working hard to embrace the new systems of interaction. In gentrified neighbourhoods, social integrations may be hindered by safety, population density, proximity, traffic volume, lack of cultural homogeneity among the neighbor's, lifestyle differences, and varied social backgrounds (Onibokun, 2019). In Nairobi, for instance, people are more likely to interact with family and friends than strangers for safety purposes because they share certain commonalities, among other factors.

Cultural differences are carriers of modern social challenges in the society. Study conducted by Erick Berrelleza, on gentrification in an urban church, observed rapid neighbourhood change such as parish reconfiguration, changes in ethno-racial and socioeconomic demographics in Charlestown (Tissot, 2015). The town comprised of Irish Catholics, newcomers, and Latinos. The study observed removal of the Spanish-language Mass and diminishing population of Latino Mass-goers in Charlestown. The Latino of St. Catherine instead opted to transfer their religious practices to private spaces such as homes. Erick Berrelleza concluded that the church furthered the special displacement of Latinos and the social interactions between them and the Irish Catholics (Tissot, 2015).

Study by Borooah & Knox (2015) revealed that religious differences between protestants and Catholics was one of the major causes of social challenges in Northern Ireland. Students from Protestant families attended Protestant designated schools just like the Catholic students. The study underscores as important the contextualization of socio-cultural differences, of which religion is one aspect in urban studies. In a reasonable set up, neighbors interact by engaging in social activities, which includes borrowing work tools, sharing meals, moments, and fun, seeking help, through cultural forums, among others (Schnake-Mahl et al., 2018).

Social support entails the frequency of communication among neighbors. In contrast, social networks refer to connection with other people regardless of their social characteristics or background as long as there exists a common goal. Social support in gentrified neighbourhoods seems to be marginalized because of the decline in personal comfort, informational, and practical support. Gentrified neighbourhoods are also characterized by increased social isolation and declining social belonging. The residents typically have a sense of social belonging; however, things change when they are forced to move out of their original settlements. Brown-Saracino (2010) noted that gentrification often strips local residents of their cultural heritage. For example, in Philadelphia, the white newcomers worked together with the local residents of color to assimilate as well as introduce them to new socio-economic practices.

A common impact of gentrification is its potential to displace low-income residents. The different kinds of displacement associated with gentrification are direct and exclusionary displacement. Direct displacement is where residents are forced out of their long-term residences due to rent increases, building renovation, or a combination of both. Exclusionary movement, on the other hand, occurs when residents are forced out due to limited housing choices, extreme changes in services and when additional support systems that they depend on are no longer available (Zuk et al., 2018).

Despite displacement being one of the key concerns, many quantitative studies show little proof of direct movement. Ellen and O'Regan (2011) found out that there was no rise in the number of residents that involuntarily left their household units, even for the most vulnerable members of the population during the white-black segregation in America. The study also revealed that direct displacement was lower in gentrifying neighbourhoods than in non-gentrifying neighbourhoods. Freeman (2005) has studied displacement trends in the gentrifying neighbourhoods of New York

and found out that low-income residents were less likely to move out because of the available job and business opportunities.

Much as some studies concluded that gentrification and displacement could be linked, Ellen and O'Regan (2011) noted that gentrifying neighbourhoods experience voluntary entries and exits and not displacement due to the socioeconomic changes associated with these areas. Similarly, Moore (2015) found out that with socioeconomic changes in gentrifying spaces such as renovation or remodelling of old houses and new businesses, and an increase in recreational activities affect the socio-economic lifestyle of some residents who will be forced to move to other neighbourhoods. Studies by Flores (2016), found out that the nature and amount of displacement depend on the changes in the local housing market. High amounts of displacement exist within neighbourhoods such as San Francisco Bay areas where housing variables such as rents and mortgages were high.

Studies by Goo (2018) on gentrification in Johannesburg, South African, defined gentrification as a contentious form of urban regeneration that is associated with socioeconomic changes such as displacement of working-class residents. The study also indicated that gentrification might not cause direct displacement but induced some of the local movements within the city of Johannesburg. Ezema, Opoko, & Oluwatayo (2016) conducted a study on new-build gentrification in the highly urbanized and congested town of Lagos, Nigeria, and made exciting observations regarding displacement. The study found that the effect of displacement was not much problematic to the original inhabitants since the government handled it in such a way that they were all satisfied.

2.3 Economic Interactions

Economic interactions comprise economic practices and interactions between gentrifiers and the gentrified involving commercial agents such as goods and services and money. Gentrification puts pressure on the gentrified spaces to an extent where residents find it challenging to benefit from economic growth. The new entrants encourage renovation or refurbishment of old buildings, improve employment opportunities, communication, and transport, public safety, and other economic opportunities (Moore, 2015). The commercial drivers of gentrification comprise of expansion of public investments and land value hence a broad metropolitan economy. An increase in potential income returns from land on which the old structure was built is somehow equivalent to the risks investors bare. The urban lifestyle attracts attractive business options and ideas for both newcomers and local residents.

2.3.1 Economic Opportunities

The economics of gentrification states that gentrifying neighbourhoods are associated with increased property values, decreased supply of affordable housing to low-income residents, displacements, and increased cost of living (Zuk et al., 2015). Following the economics of gentrification, scholars are increasingly paying more attention to the impacts and benefits of neighbourhood growth and developments. By encouraging the upward trajectory of neighbourhoods, gentrification supports modern trading techniques, especially concerning the rental market, which is beneficial to local governments. Moreover, the shifting purchasing power of the new residents and their cultural preferences creates a unique market (Zuk et al., 2015).

2.3.2 Employment Opportunities

Even though there are few empirical reports on the impacts of gentrification on employment, several theoretical studies support the idea that it does increase job opportunities (Meltzer & Ghorbani, 2017). However, the extent of this upside depends on whether and to what degree the new opportunities benefit the local residents. Some studies have indicated that residents

are more likely to experience either spatial or social isolation from these employment opportunities and it is therefore important to look into how the influx of wealthy incomers and their investment projects can boost local employment opportunities.

Studies by Brummet & Reed (2019), revealed that gentrification might have a positive or a negative impact on local employment opportunities. For example, more-educated homeowners through gentrification earn more income from rents and mortgages, especially with the influx of more-educated individuals. Similarly, Vigdor, Massey, & Rivlin (2002) argued that gentrification is a “centralizing force” that could help improve the labor market for local residents by mitigating the spatial mismatch between local residents or low-income residents and local job opportunities.

On the other hand, some studies are showing quite the opposite of this. Fern (2016) suggests that commercial gentrification may either threaten local businesses and industries or create better opportunities. On the upside, commercial or industrial gentrification may lead to economic progress, especially when local manufacturing industries are upgraded. However, when local manufacturing industries are replaced or upgraded to a level that requires more skilled labor, the local residents may not benefit as much as the gentrifiers who perhaps may be more educated or experienced.

Studies by Meltzer (2016) revealed that gentrification is associated with both business retention and disruption. Further, retail change is a significant indicator of economic trends in gentrifying neighbourhoods that may be underappreciated. Moreover, gentrification may disrupt an economically driven neighbourhood by introducing new services and products that do not serve the local people. Population characteristics such as income, level of education, and culture are strongly associated with retail services. For example, empirical evidence has shown that household preferences are influenced by local businesses (Zuk et al., 2015).

2.4 Indicators of gentrification

Since there are numerous factors that encourage gentrification, much focus will be paid on leading indicators that are accurate, measurable, and replicable. These are;

2.4.1 Housing

Housing variables are potential indicators of gentrification. Many studies have noted the consistencies in housing variables such as rent, and mortgages associated with shifting neighbourhoods. When examining housing as an accurate indicator in a given town, it is essential to seek in-depth answers to the following questions. First, are there changes in housing stock in the city? Second, are there any consistent patterns of housing variables in the city? For example, an increase in reinvestment and owner-occupancy and a decrease in vacancy is an indication of gentrification. Changes in housing, comprises percentage changes in average mortgage payments expenditures, average rent expenditure, residential vacancy rate, and in the total value of building permits within the specific town. Note that the type of housing stock is a significant physical and economic determinant of gentrification because it invites different and most probably higher mortgage and rent rates.

Monare, Kotzé, & McKay (2014) conducted a study on gentrification in Parkhurst a suburb in Johannesburg, South Africa and observed changes in housing stock, increased property values and displacement of original residents. The study also observed Parkhurst demographic and socioeconomic profile to match that of gentrified spaces. For example, the population of the suburb consisted of many young, white, educated and wealthy people unlike in the past. But most importantly, the study concluded that gentrification in Parkhurst was more associated with change in housing tenure from rentals to ownership. The study on Johannesburg can act as a reference

point of understanding the dynamics of gentrification in Eastleigh socio-economically and demographically as it also has young wealthy locals and immigrants.

2.4.2 Population/Demographics

Changes in population or demographics are another indication of an ongoing process of gentrification in the city. What are the demographics of the people living within a given area?

Statistics such as changes in poverty levels, changes in median income, number of households, and Tapestry Data are common trends in gentrifying neighbourhoods. It is important to also compare this data with that of the neighboring areas to know changes within the region and what inspires such variations. The percentage change in poverty within three or more years from as low as a 1 percent increase in comparison with data on other indicators can be very instrumental in determining whether the area has experienced gentrification or not.

A study conducted by Meltzer & Ghorbani (2017) revealed that the youthful population is often attracted to economically upgrading neighbourhoods because of the available opportunities. Additionally, gentrifying neighbourhoods in New York City were observed to experience economic growth concerning independently managed setups. Nesbitt (2005) also noted that St. Petersburg experienced a significant increase in median income between the years 1980 and 2000.

2.4.3 Consumption & Employment

Changes in customer expenditure, employment trends comprise key economic indicators of gentrification. For example, growth in vehicle or motorbike purchase and increase in retirement contributions are consistent across gentrified neighbourhoods. According to a study by Meltzer & Ghorbani (2017), the increase in expenditure on alcohol consumption away from home was consistent among gentrified neighbourhoods in Harrison, New York city. However, there was a decline in neighboring areas such as North Minneapolis.

According to Lester & Hartley (2014), industrial restructuring in gentrifying areas changes consumption and employment opportunities. For example, gentrifying neighborhoods tend to grow retail businesses that replace the old production industries. Baum and Snow (2017) also concluded that the demand for living in a specific town highly depends on the available job opportunities and other economic advantages. It explains why the many people settle in areas closer to cities. This points to the fact that gentrification can have both negative and positive impacts on an area and its.

2.5 Empirical Review

The entry of new investment into a new neighbourhood can drive out the residents, typically the low-income families who may not afford the services supplied. Increased economic activity has the potential to bring new economic and social opportunities for growth and development. One potential merit is that gentrification creates more employment opportunities; however, the extent of the benefit depends on qualification. Additionally, gentrified neighbourhoods are associated with new forms of social and economic interactions that restructure the culture of the entire city (Lester & Hartley, 2014).

According to Meltzer & Ghorbani (2017), economic upgrading does not only usher in upper and middle-class residents but also brings in commercial benefits or services that do not exist in the current market. This also adds to the merit that it creates employment opportunities for local residents. It is more likely that the local residents access these employment opportunities from social and economic interactions with the new residents. The challenge is that the locals are more likely to remain ambiguous, not unless the new residents decide to reach out (Meltzer & Ghorbani, 2017).

According to Brummet & Reed (2019) middle-income citizens or college-educated individuals tend to live in central urban areas. These transitions may be considered as part of the

gentrification process that attracts new benefits to cities through tax growth, increased socioeconomic integration, and improved social amenities (Brummet & Reed, 2019). Many studies show that exposure to higher-income neighbourhoods is beneficial to low income-residents. For example, it improves the mental and physical health of adults and increases possibilities for children to access education and other amenities. But still accessing these services can be difficult because of drastic economic changes. Gentrification has a great potential to restructure the opportunities available in cities as well as suburbs.

Besides the positive changes, gentrification has brought about more alarming issues than excitement (Hutson, 2017). The highly reported changes in gentrified areas are as a result of displacements of old residents and increased economic and social standards that deny them from accessing or sharing the aforementioned benefits. The most pivotal aspects of gentrification revolve around the distribution of changes, policies associated with the changes, and how the people economically and socially respond to these changes. According to Pineda (2017), the city of Harley, in the USA, experienced displacement of low-income individuals in the mid-90s.

Regarding social changes, schools such as the Harlem Children's Zone were integrated to serve children from low-income families. Despite causing displacement, gratification still created an opportunity for new functioning school programs for students from low-income families.

According to Pineda (2017) gentrification in London took place when middle-class incomers started purchasing slum properties and transforming them into attractive settlements. The process also led to an increase in the number of professionals from various fields, single parents, and displacement of the elderly persons from gentrifying neighbourhoods. The study also examined the parental choice and discovered that displaced parents were determined to send their kids to schools in the gentrifying areas.

There is also a gap between well-performing schools versus low performing schools in terms of accessibility and affordability. For example, upper class and middle-class citizens could easily afford to send their kids to well-performing schools while the low-class families were left with limited options but to send their kids to low performing schools (Butler, Hamnett & Ramsden, 2013). Students in the well-performing schools come from upper- and middle-class families since the schools were located within their residents, unlike students from the displaced families.

A study by Freeman (2005) noted that gentrification must cause a considerable increase in educational attainment, housing, and other socio-economic developments. Freeman further stated that gentrification could not take place outside the availability of space, the preferable centre of the city, and housing built within the past 20 years. Freeman discovered that displacement and high mobility plays a minor role in explaining the process of gentrification. What Freeman noted was that gentrification increases investments and attracts upper and middle-class households to areas with low stakes and inadequate housing. The positive changes of gentrifications attract a significant increase in tax base and socio-economic integration (Freeman, 2005).

According to Freeman (2005) gentrification increases employment opportunities in gentrified neighbourhoods a reason the majority of low-income households choose to remain in these neighbourhoods. This claim, however, has faced opposition from several pieces of literature that suggest mechanical displacement as a challenge to local manufacturing companies that provide jobs for many low-class individuals (Lester & Hartley, 2014).

2.6 Summary and Research Gaps

This chapter has reviewed the literature on social and economic interactions in gentrified spaces, indicators of gentrification, and its socio-economic impacts. Researchers have differing views on the relationship between socioeconomic changes in cities and gentrification.

Additionally, there is limited literature on religious gentrification or on the relationship between religion and gentrification (Hochstenbach & Van Gent, 2015). The literature reviewed does not provide detailed information on how people in micro segregated and gentrified areas relate at both economic and social levels.

However, many of these studies present the social and economic impacts of gentrification in micro segregated and gentrified spaces. For example, gentrification remarkably influences positive or negative social and economic interactions depending on how the affected people interpret the effects of gentrification on their lives. Based on the above analysis, there is a gap in the empirical literature review that motivates the researcher to investigate the social and economic interactions between gentrifiers and gentrified people in micro segregated and gentrified areas especially in the context of the Global South, where research evidence is still scarce. The Kenyan research context is also a valuable opportunity to understand the interplay between religion, ethnicity and economic factors in the process of gentrification.

3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

The research design refers to the overall strategy researchers select and use to incorporate the various aspects of their research logically and coherently. It comprises data collection, data measuring, recording, and analysis (Creswell, & Creswell, 2017). This study will follow a descriptive research design to obtain information concerning gentrification processes and the literature that closely relates to the study topic. Graphic research design is preferred because it allows the researcher to receive answers to questions of what the indicators of gentrification are, and how people in supposed gentrifying spaces relate both socially and economically (Creswell, & Creswell, 2017). Additionally, the design allows the researcher to obtain important information about the current status of gentrification in Eastleigh, Nairobi, describe the process and causes, and highlight some of its impacts.

The study focuses on investigating the gentrification process in Eastleigh, incorporating two types of descriptive research, that is, the case study and survey method. This allows the research to obtain a testable hypothesis and provide for further in-depth studies on gentrification within and around Nairobi. It incorporates the use of key informant interviews and questionnaires to collect resident's views on various aspects of gentrification.

3.1 Study Variables

A qualitative or quantitative variable is an integral element of any statistical study that defines specific aspects, it is unique and can be measured qualitatively or quantitatively (Simundić, 2006). This study examines social interactions, economic interactions, and identifies gentrification indicators in Eastleigh.

3.2 Site of the Study

The site of the study will be Eastleigh, which is geographically located in Nairobi, Kenya's capital city. According to census 2019, Eastleigh's current population stands at 225815, with 113747 male and 112068 female residents. The current population density is approximately 24234 residents per square Kilometer (KNBS, 2019). It is a cosmopolitan area.

3.3 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

In sampling, a researcher can make general inferences about the community from the sampled groups (Etikan & Bala, 2017). The study followed purposive sampling, also known as selective or subjective sampling. It is a non-probability sampling where researchers rely on their judgment when selecting participants from the field (Etikan, Musa, & Alkassim, 2016). This method is commonly used when the researcher has prior knowledge about the purpose of their studies and can identify eligible participants. The techniques, however, are subject to relatively high levels of bias and errors in judgement by researchers.

The technique allows the researcher to access a specific group of people from within and around Eastleigh who fit the profile. The research targets people who have stayed in Eastleigh long enough, probably more than five years, because they have knowledge on the changes that have happened. The study interviewed 20 long-time residents and a few short-time residents to note their experiences with the social and economic advancements over the past 5, 10, or more years. The study targeted a sample size of 100 from interviews and questionnaire surveys.

3.4 Research Instruments and Data Collection Procedures

The research utilizes both qualitative and quantitative data. The researcher therefore collected both primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained from the Key informant interviews and

structured questionnaires. The questionnaire and interview tools were designed in ODK collect software that aided electronic data collection, entry, and submission. Secondary data was obtained from books and scholarly websites. For example, property value and rent data was obtained from the Hass consult website. In contrast, employment and other economic statistics were obtained from the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics website.

3.5 Data Analysis and Presentation

Data analysis comprised both qualitative and quantitative measures. The open-ended responses were presented in verbatim and compared with the literature review to check for consistency or similarities. The analysis focused on descriptive statistics. Descriptive statistics measures mean, standard deviations, minimum and maximum values of measurable aspects of the data. The study used Microsoft Excel and Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) to conduct the analysis. I conducted a logistics analysis to assess each indicator to portray the effects on socio-economic relations as well as the gentrification process.

3.6 Data Management and Ethical Considerations

Having defined the position of the researcher as an outsider and the researched as an insider, the three primary ethical principles of research, that is, respect for persons, beneficence, and justice was followed, while observing representation, accountability, social responsiveness, agency, and flexibility (Manzo & Brightbill, 2007). Ethics about consent from participants and the ethics guarding the presentation of the collected data, especially the visual images and mental maps in a scholarly way, was observed. There was a familiarization session, where the whole research process was explained to the participants, and their privacy and safety assured to them.

3.7. Limitations of the study

Data unavailability was one of the major setbacks to this research. No prior research on gentrification in Eastleigh was available and therefore this is the initial study of such nature. The study relied on previous research conducted in western cities to build the literature review. Issues of the socio-economic situation of Eastleigh were handled using selective methods like questionnaires and interviews, and the study did not measure the extent of displacement but mentioned how both local residents and house owners may have been displaced by wealthy developers. The study also examined but did not measure the extent of economic and social interactions between gentrified and gentrifies.

The production side, consumption side and rent gap theories and most of the literature reviewed did not explore the social interactions. Further, the information on religious or cultural differences from respondents was susceptible and hindered access to more information. Christians had their held view towards the Islamic practices, and cultural values also impeded the participation of young female respondents from the Somali community, as the few who took part did not give detailed information. Being an area where many refugees are settled and has been riddled with violence, riots, crime and police brutality, the residents were reluctant to divulge information as they feared it might be politically manipulated. As a sensitive political and religious zone, the study could not therefore delve much into issues of violence which in a way has influenced spatial practices like the economic and social everyday interactions in the area.

Due to time and resource constraints, zoning aspects of the area were not given much consideration, and the county officials, urban planners and surveyors were not interviewed. Such interviews could have possibly given data and insight on how the area has developed and the official future plans for the area.

4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions asked in this section, guide this study to attain its objectives. In answering the research questions, we aim to understand better the perceived gentrification process taking place in Eastleigh.

4.1 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study is to see by observing and interviewing residents, whether the socio-economic developments in Eastleigh can be analysed and interpreted through the theoretical framework of gentrification and micro-segregation.

The specific objectives include:

- i. To identify gentrification indicators in the area of study.
- ii. To understand socioeconomic interactions between long-time residents and possible gentrifiers in micro segregated and gentrified Eastleigh.
- iii. To identify and understand the important aspects of micro-segregation, and differences between long-time residents and newcomers?

4.2 Research Questions

1. How can the concept of gentrification be applied in the context of Nairobi and Global South, and what are some of the key indicators of gentrification in and around Eastleigh in Nairobi?
2. Do the newcomers differ from those who have lived in Eastleigh for a longer period?
3. Are there important elements of micro-segregation that depict interaction between the long-time residents and newcomers?

Notably, these ideas have not been previously used in research in Eastleigh and therefore by conducting an empirical analysis we can find out whether they can be interpreted through the

concept of gentrification and segregation. For example, the existing literature on gentrification indicates that social and economic interactions in the gentrifying neighbourhood may be marginalized due to changes in population demography, and cultural homogeneity. Additionally, gentrifying neighbourhoods are associated with changing housing variables, population, employment, consumptions, and other indicators. This study will, therefore, focus on these issues from an explorative perspective in order to see how these concepts translate into growth and development of African cities.

5 ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

5.1 Respondent's Demographics

The sample population, comprising 65 male and 35 female respondents, differed in age, education, religion, level of education, marital status, and employment status. Thirty-eight 38% of the residents who participated in the survey were between the ages of 26 to 35 years.

5.2. Social Interactions in Eastleigh

Twenty three percent (23%) of all the respondents have lived in Eastleigh for less than two years, a greater portion of them being Christian respondents (25 percent of 67 respondents), while 46 percent of the respondents have been in Eastleigh for more than five years. A significant proportion of Muslim respondents (57 percent) have been in the neighbourhood longer than the Christian respondents (31 percent) as shown in table 1. So, much as Christians are the latest newcomers, Eastleigh has seen most structural development in the last approximately 10 years, as shall be seen in later findings.

Out of 98 responses, only 3 of them have lived in Eastleigh their entire life. Forty percent (40%) of respondents were living in estates around Eastleigh (Eastland), followed by respondents who lived outside Nairobi at 39 percent. Concerning religion, 15 of 24 Muslim respondents, and 21 out of the 67 Christian respondents lived outside Nairobi.

When respondents were asked to state the reasons that motivated them to move to Eastleigh in a multiple response format, 50 percent of the respondents were motivated to move to the neighbourhood by the availability of trading opportunities while 35 percent were motivated by job opportunities. A more significant proportion of the Christian respondents were drawn by job opportunities (41 percent), compared to Muslim respondents (24 percent), as in table 1.

Table 1: Respondents' Length of Stay, Previous Residence and Reasons for Relocation

Length of stay in Eastleigh				
	Overall	Christian	Muslim	Other
Responses (n)	100	67	26	7
Less than 2yrs	23%	25%	8%	57%
2-5yrs	41%	43%	35%	43%
5-10yrs	14%	14%	19%	0%
More than 10yrs	22%	18%	38%	0%
Previous location of residence before moving to Eastleigh				
Responses (n)	98	67	24	7
Outside Nairobi	39%	31%	62%	29%
Within Eastleigh	7%	5%	17%	0%
Eastlands / Estates around Eastleigh	40%	45%	17%	71%
Other parts of Nairobi	14%	19%	4%	
Key Motivations to relocate to Eastleigh				
Responses (n)	92	64	21	7
Business opportunities	50%	47%	52%	71%
Job Opportunities	36%	41%	24%	29%
Public Amenities	3%	0%	14%	0%
Better lifestyle and security	7%	8%	5%	0%
To join family	7%	5%	14%	0%

(Source: Field Survey, Eastleigh, January 2020).

Table 1 gives an insight to relocation patterns and reasons for moving into Eastleigh and possible source of gentrification. This could be through driving demand for residential and business premises, and goods and services in the area. Qualitative data show that motivation to move to Eastleigh was mainly economic, as commented by respondent A:

“Seeking for a better business opportunity with better income. Need for self-employment.”

Respondent A: Male, age 30 to 35 years

This indicates that respondents moved to Eastleigh to seek employment and business opportunities.

In some cases, people moved to Eastleigh seeking both.

5.2.1 Interaction among Residents

In looking at the nature of the interaction, respondents were asked to describe how they interact with people who live in older or newer buildings than theirs. This was captured in a multiple response format to obtain the most frequent modes of interaction among inhabitants. Table 2 shows that high interactions were with regard to business interactions at 84 percent followed by catching up with friends at 31 percent, interacting at entertainment and recreational places, 27 percent, and at worship places at 25 percent.

These interactions were more distinct among religious groups. The business interactions were high among Christians (87 percent) compared to Muslims (71 percent), while interacting at worship places were higher among Muslims (62 percent) compared to Christians (13 percent). This could be explained by differences in religious practices. Interaction at entertainment and recreational places, as well as catching up as friends, were also higher among Muslims compared to Christians, as shown in table 2. These findings show high levels of economic and social interactions between the groups. This tends to be different along religious lines, and social interaction seems to be higher among Muslims compared to Christians.

Table 2: Nature of interactions among Residents

Describe the nature of the interaction	Overall	Religion		
		Christian	Muslim	Other
Responses (n)	75	47	21	7
Mainly business (car wash, laundry, buying items/groceries, etc.)	84%	87%	71%	100%
Mainly at entertainment and recreational places, e.g., football pitch, etc.	27%	19%	38%	43%
We're friends and meet from time to time to catch up and do activities	31%	28%	38%	29%
We might only meet at church/mosque	25%	13%	62%	0%

(Source: Field Survey, Eastleigh, January 2020).

5.2.2 Location of Social Places You Regularly Access

A deeper delve into the area of the social amenities the respondents showed a variation in the proportion of respondents who access facilities within and outside Eastleigh, between religious groups. Apart from family fun places that are accessed by 71 percent of the Muslim respondents within Eastleigh, at least 95 percent of the Muslim respondents access the mosque, entertainment places, children's schools, and health facilities from Eastleigh. This contrasted with the Christians, where: 54 percent attend church services, 55 percent access entertainment places, 63 percent of their children attend schools, 31 percent access family fun places, and 83 percent access health facilities from within Eastleigh, while the remainder of the Christian proportions accesses social amenities away from Eastleigh as shown in Figure 5.

The higher proportion of Muslim respondents accessing services from Eastleigh can be deduced to show the possibility of higher interaction among Muslims, while the lower, and varied proportion of Christians accessing social amenities could reduce interaction instances and possibly reduce social interaction among Christians and between Christians and Muslims.

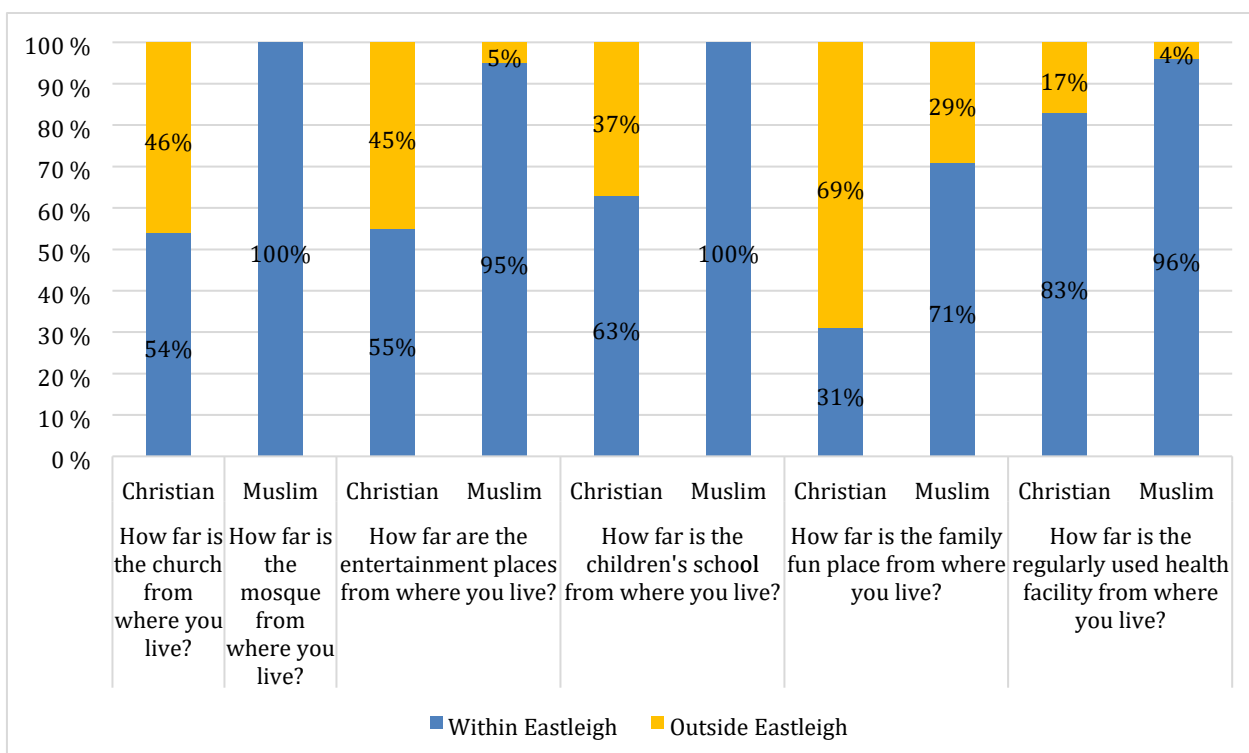


Figure 4. Location of Social Places Respondents Regularly Visit

(Source: Field Survey, Eastleigh, January 2020).

Respondents who attend church services out of Eastleigh do so mainly due to preference for a specific denomination. 100% of Muslim respondents attend religious services within Eastleigh. In Kenya, the difference sects in Islam may not be very distinct. Preferred entertainment places are limited in Eastleigh. Generally, in the Kenyan context, entertainment places are associated with alcohol consumption, and since Islam discourages indulgence in alcohol consumption, therefore most clubs shun the area, as noted by one respondent.

“There are more available than in the past but have held a form of religious discrimination. They mostly serve food and coffee or tea but no alcohol. It is also not easy for the males and females to socialize”

Respondent B: Male, age 33 years.

Respondents also noted that there has been an influx of more private health facilities with modern facilities and equipment. They further denoted that they charge higher prices compared to public health facilities and long-time residents are discriminated against, on socio-economic grounds, as indicated below.

“We have many hospitals. But they are expensive. We have a few hospitals that are affordable to many people. We opt to go outside Eastleigh for medical services. There is discrimination against non-Muslims.”

Respondent: Female, age 35 to 40 years

5.3 Economic Interactions in Eastleigh

From Table 2, we observe that the highest form of interaction among those in newer and older buildings is mainly during trading in goods and services, as mentioned by 84 percent of all the respondents. This interaction is higher among Christian respondents (87 percent) compared to Muslim respondents (71 percent). The commercial fame of Eastleigh can be seen in its business attractiveness to the respondents. The questionnaire findings revealed that at least 79 percent of both Christian and 84 percent of Muslim respondents preferred to do regular household shopping, buy large electronic items (e.g. TV, home theatre, fridges, etc.), health and beauty products, and baby products from locations within Eastleigh. A smaller proportion of Christian respondents: 31 percent, 44 percent, and 56 percent preferred to buy small electronic items, clothes and visit open-air markets, respectively, outside Eastleigh, as shown in table 3.

Table 3: Location of economic places you regularly access

	Overall	Christian	Muslim	Other
<i>Where do you do regular household shopping? (foodstuffs, etc.).?</i>				
Within Eastleigh	86%	80%	96%	100%
Outside Eastleigh	14%	20%	4%	
<i>Where do you mainly buy Large electronic items (TV, Home theatre, Fridges, etc.)?</i>				
Within Eastleigh	82%	79%	84%	100%
Outside Eastleigh	18%	21%	16%	
<i>Where do you mainly buy Health and Beauty Products</i>				
Within Eastleigh	87%	83%	92%	100%
Outside Eastleigh	13%	17%	8%	
<i>Where do you mainly buy Baby products</i>				
Within Eastleigh	84%	90%	86%	
Outside Eastleigh	16%	10%	14%	
<i>Where do you mainly buy Small electronic items</i>				
Within Eastleigh	74%	69%	81%	
Outside Eastleigh	26%	31%	19%	
<i>Where do you mainly buy Clothes (fashion)</i>				
Within Eastleigh	69%	56%	92%	100%
Outside Eastleigh	31%	44%	8%	
<i>Where are your preferred Open-air markets (e.g.? Gikomba) located?</i>				
Within Eastleigh	55%	44%	84%	57%
Outside Eastleigh	45%	56%	16%	43%

(Source: Field Survey, Eastleigh, January 2020).

Respondents who preferred to buy items outside Eastleigh cited affordability of the items as their primary motivation. Those who prefer to buy from Eastleigh cited the increase in availability and varieties of things desired, especially foodstuff, as noted by respondent C.

“To get basic foodstuff has become easier in the way I don't have to go far away to get some. Almost every corner has something you need.”

Respondent C: Female, age 25-30 years

These findings show that there seems to be more economic interaction among supposed gentrifiers and the gentrified in Eastleigh, compared to social interactions.

5.4 Key Indicators of Gentrification

To identify the indicators of gentrification in Eastleigh, respondents were asked to list the changes they have observed in Eastleigh over the years and captured in multiple response formats. The responses were charted against the years they have lived or worked in Eastleigh. The top item mentioned by at least 45 percent of the respondents in all categories is the increase in business opportunities. 33 percent of those who've been in the area for more than ten years mentioned the construction of roads and buildings as the next improvement, followed by an increase in people. Those who've been in Eastleigh for less than ten years mentioned a rise in employment opportunities as an improvement, as shown in Figure 5 below.

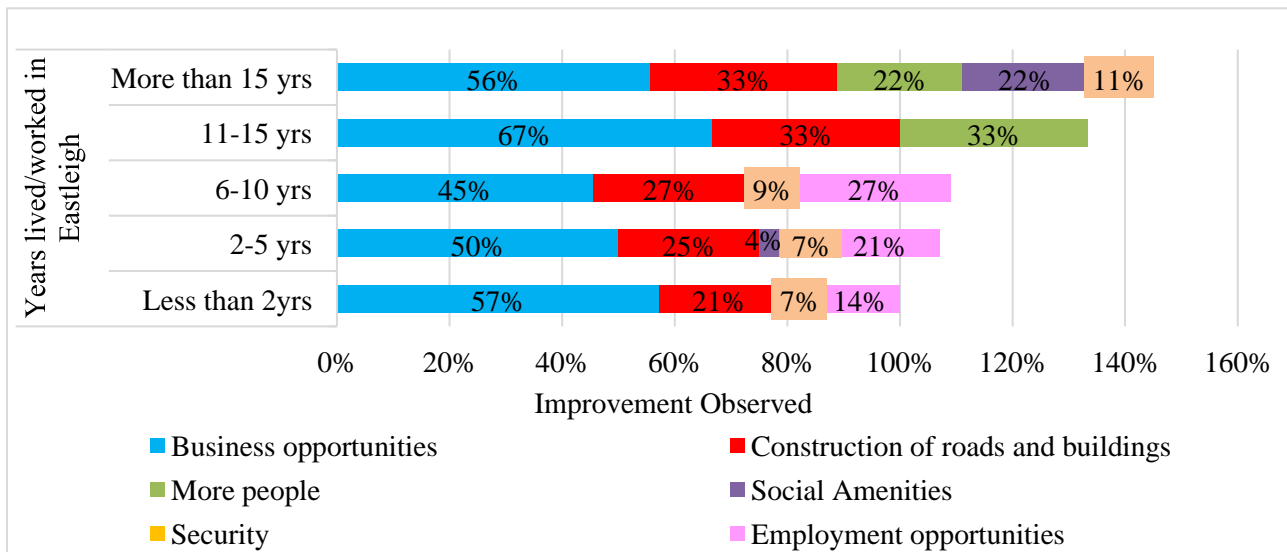


Figure 5. Observed Improvement in Eastleigh

(Source: Field Survey, Eastleigh, January 2020).

The above responses give an insight on some of the critical indicators of gentrification to be an increase in business opportunities, construction of roads and new buildings, an increase in the number of people in the area, an increase in employment opportunities, and social facilities. These indicators were backed by responses from Key Informant Interviews in which was said that there had been an increase in business as a result of the influx of customers, social amenities, and construction of apartments by developers of Somali origin who bought the property from the locals. Other indicators that came up from key informant interviews include increased cost of items, rise in rental prices which have more than doubled in less than ten years, decline in business for some residents and most rental and business premises are inhabited by residents of Somali origin.

For instance, the findings indicated that residential rent rates have increased across all house types over the years, as commented by eight respondents from the key informant interview. Respondent D and E stated;

“... Years back, a single room would have been 5000; nowadays, if you have 8000/- shillings, you only get a house as big as a tiny toilet.”

Respondent D: Male, 40 – 45 years old

And

“These rents have gone up; there are house rents from 40,000 per month to 100,000 per month.

These houses are not for the commoners. They are being built for foreigners.”

Respondent E: Female, 30 – 35 years old

6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The general objective of the study was to see by observing and interviewing residents, whether the developments in Eastleigh can be analysed and interpreted through the theoretical framework of gentrification and micro-segregation. The outcomes of the survey study suggest the majority of respondents were motivated by business and job opportunities to move to this neighbourhood. Local residents within and around see significant job gains in Eastleigh with a youthful population experiencing a corresponding rise over the years. The areas have also experienced massive social and economic growth and development of new residential and commercial buildings, roads, medical facilities, expansion of businesses, and other commercial activities.

Notably, the respondents of this study tended to refer to residents of Somali origin as Muslim residents and vice versa. The extent of this biasness was also highlighted in the study conducted by Abdulsamed (2011) who concluded that both the Kenyan press and wider Kenyan community have a negative perception towards Somali businesspeople. In his study, Abdulsamed (2011) indicated that many Kenyans consider Eastleigh to be a centre of illicit business even though Kenya has always had a large informal economy. Additionally, the findings of this study indicated that majority of the Muslim respondents have lived in Eastleigh longer than Christian respondents. This follows reports from studies conducted by Smith (2017) and Abdulsamed (2011) on Somali investment in Kenya. Both studies indicate that Kenya-Somali and Somali population increased in the late 90s due to the events during and after the Said Barre's regime that affected the Somali economy.

6.1 Gentrification Indicators, Social Interactions and Economic Interactions

On Gentrification Indicators, the outcomes from the survey indicated that Eastleigh has experienced increased rates of the demolition of old apartments and constructions of new modern

apartments. Respondents also reported changes in housing variables such as increased house rents and property values. House owners in Eastleigh mainly target the wealthy residents because of their abilities to afford the high house and business rent rates. The high business rent rates are attributed to the increasing demand for business spaces and the presence of wealthy classes of residents of Somali origin. Studies by Monare, Kotzé, & McKay (2014), on gentrification in Parkhurst, Johannesburg, concluded that gentrification in Parkhurst was more associated with changes in housing tenure from rentals to ownership.

Similarly, studies by Brummet & Reed (2019); Pineda (2017); Butler, Hamnett, & Ramsden (2013) found out that gentrifying neighbourhoods are associated with slum renovation, reconstruction, reinvestment and increase in house and commercial rents as well as property and land values. The Rent-Gap theory argued that landowners, landlords, and developers always focus on increasing profits by enhancing old properties and looking for new investment ventures (Diappi & Bolchi, 2008).

The findings from this study also revealed changes in consumption trends due to the religious practices, and increased business and employment opportunities. Respondents from the Key Informant interview indicated that business opportunities increased due to the influx of wealthy populations, customers, social amenities, and construction of new commercial buildings. Studies by Meltzer & Ghorbani (2017), found out that changes in consumption trends and employment opportunities are consistent in gentrified neighbourhoods. Similarly, Lester & Hartley (2014), observed that industrial restructuring in gentrifying areas causes significant shifts in consumption and employment opportunities. The consumption side theory also asserts that gentrifiers seek to create and supply advanced services that local residents may not afford hence a vast market consumption gap.

On Social Interactions, the outcomes of the survey revealed that there have been rapid changes in population demographics in Eastleigh. For example, a higher proportion of the residents are of Somali origin. Additionally, majority Muslim respondents have lived in Eastleigh longer than the Christian respondents. Studies by Nesbit (2005); Meltzer & Ghorbani (2017); Onibokun (2019); and Borooah & Knox (2015) made observations that gentrifying neighbourhoods are associated with rapid changes in population demographics. Besides, changes in population demographics, relocation patterns, and reasons for moving into Eastleigh were mainly due to economic and not social purposes. For example, a higher proportion of the respondents indicated that they moved to Eastleigh to seek employment and business opportunities.

The outcomes of the survey also indicated that there is an increased rate of demolition of old apartments and the construction of new ones. Some residents have also been forced to move out of the old flats and house owners having limited choices but to sell their houses to the wealthy residents who demolish to build new ones. Residential and business rents have increased over the years. According to Zuk et al., (2018), residents may experience direct or exclusionary forms of displacement due to extreme changes in the neighbourhood. Similar observations were also made by Brummet & Reed (2019); Nesbitt (2005); and Monare, Kotzé, & McKay (2014).

The findings from the survey indicated distinct social interactions between the religious groups. Communication between Muslim and Christian residents was higher regarding economic aspects than social aspects. Also, interactions at entertainment places and recreational places were high among residents of Somali origin. It implies that interactions (economic and social) tend to be different along cultural lines, and social interaction seems to be higher among Muslims compared to Christians.

Studies by Onibokun (2019) revealed that lack of cultural homogeneity in gentrified neighbourhoods hinder social integration because of lifestyle, religion, among other social differences. Tissot (2015) also observed that religious differences between the local residents (Latinos-Catholics) and newcomers (Irish Catholic) led to the removal of the Spanish-Mass and diminishing population of Latino Mass-goers in Charlestown. A similar observation was made by Borooah & Knox (2015) in Northern Ireland where Protestant students and Catholic students attended different schools. These observations follow the findings from this survey that a higher proportion of Muslim respondents access services from Eastleigh. This is contrary to the finding that a fairly small proportion of Christian respondents' access services from Eastleigh. For example, a higher percentage of Christians access social amenities from outside showing the likelihood of reduced social interactions among Christians and between Christians and Muslims.

However, studies in North American cities have shown how important the role of religious and ethnic differences is. It is interesting to notice that the dynamics seem to be persistent and can be understood and interpreted in the Kenyan city, in light of those previous literature. Eastleigh has socio-economic, cultural-economic and religious underpinnings and therefore gentrification here cannot just be demographic but has a lot of social, cultural and religious differentiation.

In addition, findings from the study indicated that there are limited preferred entertainment places in Eastleigh because Islam according to the Kenyan context, discourages indulgence in alcohol consumption. This, however, does not indicate that other religions encourage alcohol consumption, although it is seen as a form of entertainment and tolerated by some non-Muslims. Arkaraprasertkul (2016) found out that gentrifying spaces are associated with increased social isolation and declining social belonging. This explains the impact of cultural differences on social interactions between the residents in Eastleigh. The reason for declining social belonging and

social isolation among residents may hence be linked to discrimination along cultural lines, without considering historical injustices.

On Economic Interactions, survey findings indicated the respondents are attracted by the business and employment opportunities in Eastleigh. The majority of both Muslim and Christian respondents preferred shopping from within Eastleigh due to affordability and increasing product and service variety. This shows that there seems to be more economic interaction compared to social relations. Additionally, the rapid growth of the wealthier population in Eastleigh has led to the provision of strained services as well as changes in consumption and expenditure trends. Moreover, the different socio-economic levels in Eastleigh has led to a vast market consumption gap between Muslim and Christian Residents. This has been beneficial to both groups in terms of variety of products and services and significantly as a whole new culture. Notably, there is a proportion of Christian residents that opt to access medical services from hospitals outside Eastleigh for varied reasons, one of which was increased medical expenses.

Studies by Meltzer (2016); Stehlin (2015); Zuk et al. (2015); and Nonko (2017) have indicated the gentrification is associated with both business growth and disruption. According to Zuk et al., (2015), socio-economic changes associated with gentrification may create new business and services in the community. For example, the outcomes of the survey indicated the rise of new companies such as Muslim banks among others that have increased job opportunities and economic growth.

The outcomes of the survey revealed that some businesses are likely to close due to the economic biases and displacement of some of the long-term residents. The production theory by Neil Smith argued that gentrification in the suburbs might lead to increased economic expenses that may force residents to relocate.

6.2 Conclusion

Gentrifying neighbourhoods experience dramatic social and economic changes. There are areas within and around Eastleigh that have continued to experience economic prosperity and social developments. For instance, it has encouraged modern trading techniques and avenues such as new markets. Moreover, Eastleigh has experienced growth in investment evident by expansion of business, social, and industrial upgrading. The local residents, as well as residents from neighbouring estates, benefit from business and employment opportunities. The study also found out that employment impact from gentrification was that it helps the majority of those who remain in the neighbourhood.

Despite these changes, Eastleigh still experiences social and economic challenges, such as social isolation and economic bias respectively. For example, cultural differences seemed to influence social and economic interactions between the residents and gentrifiers in Eastleigh. Contrary to this, cultural diversity has also enhanced growth of a new culture in Eastleigh as opposed to neighbouring estates. For example, residents have been exposed to different kinds of foods, social and economic practices.

The study does not, however, measure the extent of displacement but mentions how both long-time residents and house owners have been pushed out by wealthy developers. The study does not measure the extent of economic and social interactions but examines how the gentrified and gentrifies in the areas relate. The significant indicators of gentrification in Eastleigh are changes in consumption and employment trends, changes in housing variables such as rent and mortgages, and the rapid increase of the number of wealthy residents in the area. Finally, since Eastleigh experiences social, cultural, religious and economic growth as well as challenges, gentrification cannot be examined from only looking at the demographics.

6.3 Policy Considerations

Communication between the groups of residents, and their responses show that there are common feelings of lack of access to certain services based on cultural differences. This could be used by the relevant authorities to design more inclusive policies to encourage interactions and access to services to support social cohesion and equality of opportunities in neighbourhoods like Eastleigh.

There is also a considerable need to improve the body of research on public investment and development, in-migration, and out-migration in gentrifying neighbourhoods. Some cases require in-depth qualitative examination and others require quantitative measurements. There is, therefore, an urgent need for policymakers, local activists, and researchers. Gentrification in the suburbs causes direct increase in rent, taxes, and other economic expenses that may hinder growth of residents. According to the production theory, a city that wishes to forestall gentrification must develop policies that will make it easier for local residents to develop socially and economically.

6.5 Suggestions for Further Research

Further studies should be conducted to determine the extent of displacement of people and the extent of social and economic interactions between gentrifiers and the gentrified people. It is also essential to investigate the different types of public investment strategies that can foster neighbourhood development without causing residential and commercial displacement of many people. What can the county government and policymakers do to mitigate residential displacement in Eastleigh? What kinds of anti-residential or commercial displacements strategies can they apply? Until these questions are addressed, the available research and information on gentrification in Kenya will only have a small implication on policy making and urban planning.

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APPENDIX

Appendix I: Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE

Gentrification indicators

1. How long have you lived in this neighbourhood?

Less than 2yrs ☐ 2-5yrs ☐ 5-10yrs ☐ More than 10yrs ☐

2. Where were you living before moving to this neighbourhood?

3. What motivated you to move to this neighbourhood?

4. How long have you lived/worked in the above locality? _____

5. If you've worked within Eastleigh, has your income increased over the years?

Yes ☐ No ☐

6. In the years you've been in Eastleigh (living or working) how has the situation been?

	Kindly explain
Improved	
Become worse	

7. Describe the building you live in.

☐ A residential flat/apartment ☐ A stand-alone house with own compound

8. How old is the building?

0-5yrs ☐ 5-10yrs ☐ 10-15yrs ☐ More than 15yrs ☐

social interactions with gentrifiers

9. Do you interact with residents from old/new buildings in the neighbourhood? Yes ☐

No ☐

10. If yes, describe the nature of interaction

☐ Mainly business (car wash, laundry, buying items/groceries, etc.) ☐

Mainly at entertainment and recreational places e.g. football pitch, etc.

☐ We're friends and meet from time to time to catch up and do activities

☐ We might only meet at church/mosque

11. Considering the social places, you regularly access, how far are they from where you live?

	Name the place	Location	
		Within Eastleigh	Outside Eastleigh
a. Church			
b. Mosque			
c. Entertainment places			
d. Your children's school			
e. Family fun places			
f. Regularly used health facility			
g. Other (list them below)			

12. Of the places you prefer to visit outside Eastleigh, what are the reasons?

Place	Reason
a. Church	
b. Mosque	
c. Entertainment places	
d. Your children's school	
e. Family fun places	
f. Regularly used health facility	

economic interactions with gentrifiers in micro segregated and gentrified spaces. 13.

Where do you work? Within Eastleigh []

Outside Eastleigh []

	Name the place	Location	
		Within Eastleigh	Outside Eastleigh
14. Where do you do regular household shopping? (foodstuffs, etc.).			

15. Where do you mainly buy the following items?

	Authorized company dealers	Supermarkets /mini marts	Shopping malls	Shopping stalls	Open air markets (e.g. Gikomba)
a. Large electronic items (TV, Home theatre, Fridges, etc.)					

b. Small electronic items (Phones/tablets, Phone accessories, blender, iron box, etc.)					
c. Other household items (carpets, curtains, cutlery, etc.)					
d. Clothes (fashion)					
e. Health and Beauty Products					
f. Baby products					

16. Of the preferred places to buy items, how far are the following service areas from the neighbourhood?

	Within Eastleigh	Outside Eastleigh
a. Authorized company dealers		
b. Supermarkets /mini marts		
c. Shopping malls		
d. Shopping stalls		
e. Open air markets (e.g. Gikomba)		

17. What are the reasons for the preference?

18. In what way has religion impacted the following in Eastleigh?

a. Business

b. Dress code

c. Food

d. Interaction

e. Conversion to other religions

Demographics

- I. Age: 18 – 25 [] 26 – 35 [] 36 – 45 [] 46 – 55 [] 56 and above [] II.
Gender: Male [] Female
III. Marital status: Single [] Married [] Divorced [] Other []
IV. Religion: Christian [] Hindu [] Muslim [] Other []
V. Education: Primary [] Secondary [] Tertiary [] Graduate [] Post Graduate []
VI. Employment status: Employed [] Self Employed [] Unemployed []

Appendix II: Interview

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW

Name: _____

Occupation: _____

1. What is the nature of your business/job?
2. For how long have you lived/worked in Eastleigh?
3. How would you describe life/work in Eastleigh in the recent past?
4. How do the current conditions in Eastleigh compare to when you started being in Eastleigh or ten years ago in the following areas?
 - a. Food and groceries
 - b. Services such as transport, hairdressing/barber, carwash, etc.
 - c. Buildings
 - d. Residential rents
 - e. Business rents
 - f. City Council Activity and Services
 - g. Medical Services
 - h. Financial services
 - i. Business activities (to business owners)
 - j. Entertainment spots
5. What do you think are the major contributors to the changes?
 - a. Food and groceries
 - b. Services such as transport, hairdressing/barber, carwash, etc.

- c. Residential rents
 - d. Business rents
 - e. City Council Activity and Services
 - f. Medical Services
 - g. Financial services
 - h. Business activities (to business owners)
 - i. Entertainment spots
6. What do you recommend should be done to improve life in Eastleigh?